

of a heavy wood, *cumarú*; it is two fingers thick and as much as 80 cm. long (fig. 412 4, a), and with it they crush and mill the material in a long semicylindrical trough (*tau/ta'*), sometimes open at both ends. In this hod they often work with a short wooden pestle; I saw one which ended at the top in a sculptured human head.

The cook shed is also the place where they make dry manioc flour, *farinha de mandioca*, which is probably the Tukuna product most desired by the Neobrazilians today. Formerly, the Tukuna did not know how to use it, but for dry flour substituted *beijú*, a thin flat cake of fermented manioc dough baked on a clay slab. They also had a flour made of maize cracked by the heat of fire," which went by the name of *a/tē'e* and was eaten with bananas.

The Neobrazilians probably taught the Tukuna how to make manioc dry flour, since so many of the Tukuna terms relating to it are Neobrazilian, for instance, the name of the product, *u:'i* (l.g., *wí*), and of the utensils used in its manufacture: e.g., *yapu'na*, oven (l.g., *yapúna*), *te'piti*, press (l.g., *tipity*), *kuéu*, hod for the dough (P., *cocho*). [17]

I do not know what shape the earlier grater had; today it is invariably made of a punctured sheet of metal. There are still small graters which are made from the aerial root of the *pariubinka*, and others made from the bony part of the tongue of the *pirarueú*, but they are no good for grating manioc roots; they are useful only in the preparation of certain medicines. 412

Like any other food, the manioc roots are brought from the garden patch in large conical baskets (pl. 4). These are made by the men—who, however, never use them—in an open-mesh technique, usually of split *cipó*, more rarely of *uarumá* stems. The Tukuna say that they learned to make this type of basket (*vo'tura*; Tupi, *uafurá*) from the *Omágua*, who then made war against the Tukuna for copying an *Omágua* article. Formerly the Tukuna baskets were cylindrical, with a square bottom. All are carried with a tumpline of *envira*. Baskets of both types are in use today, although the first type predominates. 285 [482] [462] [177]

Aside from these carrying baskets, the Tukuna also have a large woven bag, *nē'rj*, closed by a drawstring passed through the mesh row of the opening; it often has a tumpline woven of the same material (pl. 7, c). This bag, *pucá*, with the mouth held open by a hoop of *cipó* or of elastic wood, also serves as a dip net. It is mentioned in the legend of the origin of culture heroes as one of two articles typically used by women and is one of the elements which the Tukuna share with the cultures of eastern Brazil and the Chaco. [227] [177]

Formerly, the Tukuna peeled manioc roots with the edge of a large bivalve shell, *koru*, common along the *Solimões*. This is used even today to scrape pineapples for the preparation of a cooling drink. 412 252 [272] •

For soaking bundles of manioc roots in plain water the Tukuna invariably use an old canoe near the entrance to the house. The squeezed pulp from the press (*tipity*) is placed in a hod, open at both ends and set slightly inclined on two sawhorses. Nowadays, the Tukuna make "dry" *farinha* just as much as "wet"; they rarely bother with *tapioca*. The pulp is strained through square, large-meshed sieves made of strips of bamboo, *jaboca*, or *uarumá* (*u:'i-čim*/[*ʔa*]).

For other purposes there is a small fine-meshed sieve, *va'ira-čim*/[*ʔa*] (*odira*, 412

* The word for popcorn, *pipocas*, was not used here.—Trana.

For the deer that invade the plantations, pitfalls (a:'ma[') are dug to the depth of a meter and a half, a sharpened paxiuba stake being set vertically at the bottom. In a pitfall that I saw, a dog had died, and a few days later an alligator also fell into it.

GATHERING

The gathering of wild fruits and the capture of animals that cannot properly be included under hunting are still carried on by both sexes; by men when the opportunity presents itself and by women on trips made for the purpose.

There are many varieties of edible wild fruits, although most have no economic importance, being no more than mere tidbits, like the pods of the *arara tucupy*, the seeds of which are covered with a thin layer of thick, sweet liquid. The only fruits of real economic importance are those of the four palms, burity (*Mauritia vinifera*), bacabeira (*Oenocarpus bacaba*), pataú (*Oenocarpus pataú*), and açahy (*Euterpe* sp.). All four species are common in the jungles of the Tukuna. During the period of gathering one always sees large earthenware vessels containing burity fruits soaked in a solution to make the rinds come off more easily, and the Indians constantly help themselves. The fruits of these four palms are then macerated in tepid water and a fatty drink is prepared by a process common among the Neobrazilians as well, the separation of the pulp from the stones by treading. The liquid is passed through a very fine sieve (va'iri-ëin]-j'n, from va'ira, açahy). A sufficient quantity is then prepared so that the neighbors may be invited to drink also. The gathering of the fruits and the preparation of the beverage are feminine tasks.

The Tukuna are acquainted with the Brazil nut, or niggertoe, *castanha do Pará* (*Bertholletia excelsa*), but they eat only the kernels without preparing from them either milk or oil. Nino, an Indian of Igarapé da Rita, had planted near his house about ten such saplings, which were then bearing fruit.

The Tukuna will not eat toads, though they do not reject various species of frogs; they also eat beetle larvae, which are found in burity palma, and the queens of saúva ants (i.g., içá; *Atta cephalotes*) when they are swarming. Of the various kinds of honey the most appreciated is that of the wild bee, jandaíra. Bees are not raised at home.

FOOD

The most common food is fish, either boiled or freshly smoked and eaten with farinha (formerly with beijús). Seasoning is obtained by thrusting the fingertip into a small dish with crushed salt and pepper and then licking it. At present, the salt is bought from the Neobrazilians, but it is said that in the old days it was prepared from the ash from burned green marajá palm leaves.

Of fish, the Indian takes only as much as he can swallow at one gulp, picking it, with a rapid pinch of the fingers, from the common receptacle. In consequence, the piece of fish shortly assumes such a tattered appearance that it looks like nothing more than a dog's dinner.

When there is roast game, no one cuts himself a large piece, but each in turn seizes the meat, tears off a chunk with the teeth, and tosses the remainder back

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264 into the common vessel. This gesture is as common as the pinch of the fingers. The Tukuna eat neither avidly nor hastily. During and after the meal they belch unreservedly and with evident satisfaction. Each one gets up when satisfied, goes to the platform where the water jugs are kept, washes his hands and mouth, and takes a swallow.

252 When the fish or meat have been on the smoking-rack (moquem) for many days
262 and have thus become too hard, they are cooked with scraped green bananas until the mass completely disintegrates, the whole turning into a coarse pap (l.g., *mogica*). These are the two main foods.

Aside from these regular meals, however, someone frequently prepares a little snack over the kitchen fire, roasting either on the coals or on a spit a green banana, an ear of maize, sweet manioc root or yam tuber, or even, on the grill, bundles of green leaves containing a frog, a handful of beetle larvae, or minnows. The yam, especially, may be called the bread of the Tukuna.

BEVERAGES

272 I have already mentioned the beverages prepared from the fruits of the burity, bacabeira, pataúá, and açahy palms. Later on we shall see the great importance of fermented drinks in the social and economic life of the Tukuna, as well as the injurious effects of intoxication, their one vice.

273 There are three principal fermented drinks for ceremonies: (1) čav]-č[', a maize drink (l.g., *chicha*); (2) čaj', from boiled sweet manioc (l.g., *cajúma*); (3) pa'yavaru, from burned manioc flat cakes (l.g., *paiauarú*).

[114] The first and second are pre-Columbian. Tesson's statement that the Tukuna
[177] do not use beverages made of maize is erroneous. The *paiauarú* was probably adopted from the Neobrazilian population which speaks the lingua geral; it is little used by the Neobrazilians of today.

[237] For *chicha*, dry, ripe maize is pounded by the rocking-board; water is placed to heat over the fire and, when it boils, the meal is slowly dropped in and constantly stirred. It is permitted to boil until it becomes soft, when it is removed from the fire. A mouthful of a certain, special kind of sweet potato (*Batatas edulis* or *Ipomoea batatas*) is masticated and placed on top of the boiled maize, but without mixing it. Only after the mass of potato has settled is the combination stirred with a spatula made from the shoulder blade of a manatee (T., *ko'ruvë*). The person who chews the sweet potato first washes his mouth and chews the leaves of a plant called *vo'ča*, which stings the mouth and lips, turning them and the tongue black. Finally, the liquid is strained through a sieve into a jar, where it remains. Generally, it will have turned potent by the following day.

To prepare *cajúma*, the Tukuna peel a sweet manioc tuber, cut it into small pieces, and crush it to a pulp with the rocking-board. To the mass they add a gourdful of sweet potato and strain it through a sieve into a jar. A little cane molasses speeds up the fermentation.

Paiauarú is made in the following way. A sufficient quantity of manioc cakes is made, the cakes being baked in the oven until slightly burnt on the surface, when they are placed in a wide-meshed basket and dipped for an instant into hot water. The dough, about two or three fingers thick, is then spread out on bananas